

# PEACE NEWS

Brotherhood : Non-Violence : Freedom

No. 918

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**HOLIDAY  
PLANNING  
NUMBER**

## HE BROUGHT AN EMPIRE TO ITS KNEES

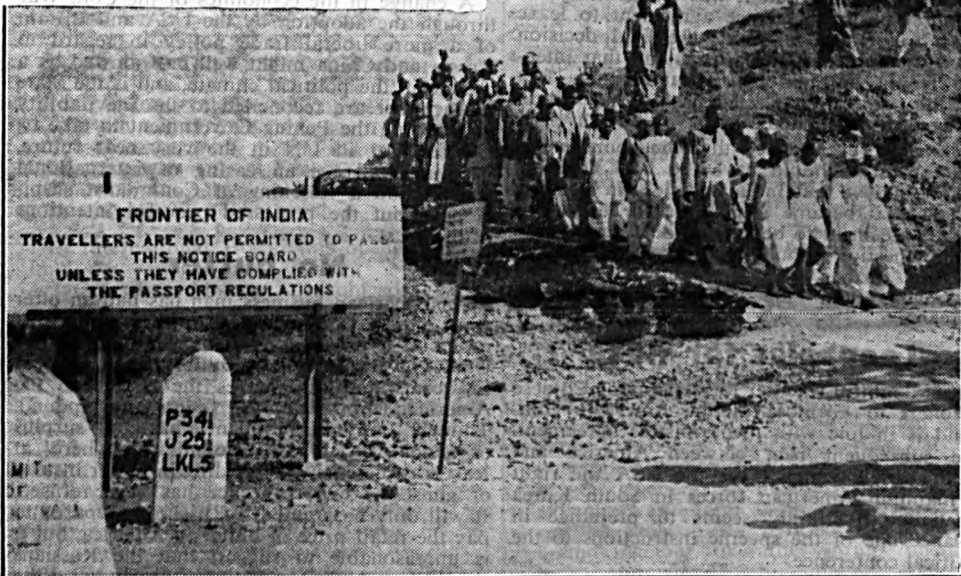


Above: Mahatma Gandhi and his wife, Kasturba, on the famous Salt March, 1930. Centre: Non-violent resistance at the North-West Frontier. Military men came to keep an eye on Mr. Gandhi (in leading file).

**MOHANDAS KARAMCHAND GANDHI**, assassinated six years ago this week, has become a legend which few dare to remember. He, too, lived in the day of the atom bomb and the pukkha sahib. When the mighty movement which he led won through to victory in India, and to the esteem of her erstwhile overlords, the world believed that the era of colonialism was ended.

Now, in other colonial territories, the desperation of fear and the compulsions of a false economy have given rise again to the beatings, the deportations, the repressions and the bullying which were so common in Gandhi's India.

Will his spirit live again in the hearts of the men who meet the new terrors of today?



Below: At the funeral ceremony, the Governor-General, Lord Louis Mountbatten, his wife and daughter, and other dignitaries watch the flames of the pyre which consumed Gandhi's body. To the left is Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, on the right Maulana Abdul Kalam Azad (dark glasses) and Dr. Lo Chia Luen, then Chinese Ambassador. Military men came to mourn.



## BRITISH IMPERIALISM STIFFENING

**MAGANBHAI P. DESAI**, editor of Harijan, the newspaper founded in India by Mahatma Gandhi, warns that Britain is again thwarting the onward march to freedom of her colonial peoples, just as she did in India in the 1930's.

He writes in Harijan, December 12, 1953: When our British ex-rulers introduced provincial autonomy by their 1935 Reforms Act, I think they had expected, thanks to their ingenuity in devising it, that the Indian National Congress would not come to power and that there would be smooth sailing for them in the Indian political waters for a few years more. But the election results were, as we know, a total surprise for them, and they were baffled in their political game to thwart the onward march of freedom in India. A similar thing seems to have happened to them in British Guiana.

The colony under the leadership of its People's Progressive Party has availed itself of the first opportunity to seize power, whatever little it may be, that came to it by the Reforms Act a few months ago, and it seems, sprang a

surprise, like the one we did in 1937, on its British rulers.

The latter have reacted to it in a similarly surprising way. After giving India freedom, it seems colonial or imperial opinion in England is too much hardened to allow a wise and liberal outlook in such matters. Otherwise the English would not have done what they did to meet the challenge of the people of British Guiana.

It is surprising that the Labour Party also could not or would not do anything deserving its liberal outlook.

It seems Britain wanted to take time by the forelock so that they might stem the tide of the urge of freedom and independence of those people. Not heeding to their own saying that time and tide wait for nobody, they suspended the Constitution that brought the PPP to power and set up the Governor's rule.

The leader of that Party Dr. Cheddi Jagan is at present in India on a goodwill mission and the other day he addressed the members

### Guiana, Malaya, Kenya seen from India

## East - West tension lessening at U.N.

— QUAKER OBSERVER REPORTS

**WATCH** Korea, urge the admission of China to UN, study the issues of disarmament, racial discrimination and tension in Palestine.

This was the policy put to peace organisations by Agatha Harrison, recently returned to Britain from the USA. She was a member of the Quaker team which has held a watching brief at the UN General Assembly.

Agatha Harrison told a lunch-hour meeting of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, of which she is a vice-president, that she felt there was a slight lessening of East-West tension at the close of the recent session of the UN General Assembly. In discussions there was a real effort to reconcile opposing points of view.

She spoke with warm appreciation of this year's President of the UN Assembly, Mrs. Pandit, the first woman to be appointed to this high office.

It was significant that an Asian had been chosen, and an Indian, for India, with other Asian powers, was bringing a new influence to bear on the opposing "blocs."

### Peace Council and Korea

Added emphasis to Agatha Harrison's words came this week in a statement issued by the National Peace Council expressing their grave concern at the present Korean situation.

They urged that the Government should give full and public support to the proposal for reconvening the United Nations General Assembly.

The statement concluded:

"The National Peace Council believes that only by this means can active steps be taken to hold the Political Conference essential for a long-term settlement of the Korean conflict, and that in this way the immediate danger of hostilities being renewed could be overcome."

## RESTORE THE KABAKA

Buganda delegation to tour Britain

**THE** members of the Buganda delegation to Britain are to tour England and Scotland to explain their mission to achieve the restoration of the Kabaka.

In a memorandum issued this week, the delegation, which includes the Chief Justice of Buganda and the Secretary to the Grand Lukiko (Parliament), comments upon the White Paper recently issued by the British Government. They describe the events leading up to the deposition of the Kabaka and the manner of his arrest.

The problem which led to a difference of opinion between the Governor (Sir Andrew Cohen) and the Kabaka was not purely of recent origin. There had been fears about growing European domination and the possibility of East African federation for some time.

The delegation states that it is deeply troubled about the future. Only if there is honest understanding of the real nature of the difficulties with which they are confronted and with the genuine feelings and aspirations of the African people can there be any hope of peace for Uganda. It should not be impossible to reach true understanding and agreement between the people of Buganda and Britain. But patience and goodwill must take the place of impatience and suspicion.

Details of the delegation's itinerary may be obtained from the Africa Bureau, 69 Gt. Peter Street, S.W.1.

## PPU LETTER TO ANTHONY EDEN:

Show spirit of compromise

**THE** Peace Pledge Union sent the following letter to the British Foreign Secretary, The Rt. Hon. Anthony Eden, on the eve of the Berlin Conference:

Dear Mr. Foreign Secretary,

On behalf of the Peace Pledge Union we send you our best wishes for a successful outcome of the Berlin Conference.

In doing so, we would again express the hope that as leader of the British delegation you will be ready to show the spirit of compromise for which you asked in your recent broadcast.

So far as the plans for the rearmament of Western Germany are concerned, we would urge that what you believe cannot be abandoned as a condition of agreement, might properly be abandoned as a consequence of agreement. In other words, we would hope that one outcome of the Berlin Conference will be such a lessening of the tension between East and West as to make reasonable the revision of the British view of the conditions upon which they believe their security depends.

It is still our strong conviction that the solution of the German problem, which will make possible the reunification of Germany and give the best promise of peace for Europe, lies along the lines of a guarantee by the powers concerned of the neutrality of a disarmed united Germany, and that a peace treaty based upon that conception should be negotiated with an all-German Government, elected under conditions which will guarantee the secrecy of the ballot and the freedom of all German electors to cast their votes without fear of discrimination or subsequent reprisals.

Yours sincerely,

SYBIL MORRISON,

National Chairman.

STUART MORRIS,

General Secretary.

## U.S. objector claims FBI report inaccurate

APPEAL FOLLOWS 3-DAY HEARING

**VERN DAVIDSON**, Socialist youth leader, was sentenced to three years imprisonment on November 30 in California for refusal to report for induction into the armed forces.

A humanitarian and political objector, Davidson had sought exemption as a Conscientious Objector. Judge Westover, in sentencing him, ruled that as an agnostic he was not entitled to consideration under the draft law, which provides exemption only for religious objectors.

In a trial lasting three days, and highlighted by the refusal of the FBI to surrender its files on Davidson (they had been subpoenaed), the defence attorney, J. B. Tietz, pointed out that the defendant had been denied due process in that he was not given a copy of the recommendations of the Hearing Officer, and in not being given a second hearing which he had been promised.

He pointed out that the summary of the FBI report was inaccurate and that to rule an objector must believe in a Supreme Being would deny consideration as COs to many religious persons including Unitarians.

The government contended that since Davidson was an agnostic, he was not even entitled to routine hearings under the law.

Davidson was due to begin serving the sentence on December 28. An appeal is planned, and the Defence Committee has issued an appeal in the USA for funds. \$1,000 must be raised for the appeal. Money may be sent to David McReynolds, Secretary of the Davidson Defence Committee, 1324 Ashland Ave., Ocean Park, Calif.

In Africa a doctrine of racial superiority, viz. Malanism, has been forged to give the diabolical effort a sort of decent or nice-looking support. In British East Africa we see that a reign of terror with aerial bombing, etc. is being enacted under the cover of anti-Mau-Mau-ism.

British Indian history seems to be repeating itself there.

India is dead against all this and has a moral horror of it. It is good to see that progressive world opinion agrees. The whole thing is against democracy and peace; and the sooner the British people realise it the better for them as well as world peace which is threatened not only by aggressive Communism but also by selfish and insolent colonialism and the primitive ideas of racial superiority.



## PEACE NEWS

3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4  
STamford Hill 2262 (three lines)

January 29, 1954

### DULLES AND CHINA

IN an article on Mr. John Foster Dulles last week the Observer reminded us of the views expressed by Mr. Dulles on the subject of China in his book "War and Peace," published in 1950:

"If the Communist Government of China in fact proves its ability to govern China without serious domestic resistance, then it, too, should be admitted to the United Nations... the United Nations will best serve the cause of peace if its Assembly is representative of what the world actually is, and not merely the representative of the parts we like."

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The profile drawn by the Observer is not so much of a man as of a politician, and it is not a pretty one. Mr. Dulles has to steer a course between what the peace of the world requires and what is demanded by the hard-faced men and the more irresponsible elements that are in the ascendancy in his own Party.

This results in vacillations between contradictory statements directed to meet the needs of policy on the one hand and to placate the Party on the other.

Thus, according to the writer of this article, Mr. Dulles last April told a group of journalists that he was considering the desirability of admitting China to the United Nations, found that this produced an uproar from Senator Knowland and his kind, and then himself drafted a denial that he had made the statement that the journalists had reported. It is not a pretty picture, but a considerable proportion of politicians feel that they have to deal in this kind of dirt.

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We draw attention to these things because of their bearing on Mr. Dulles' latest statement on the subject of China. He is reported to have said to a Senate Committee, having spoken of the desirability of all countries being members of UN:

"It is, of course, unlikely that there will be universality in the complete and literal sense of that word. Unfortunately there are Governments or rulers who do not respect the elemental decencies of international conduct so that they can properly be brought into the organised family of nations. That is illustrated by the regime which now rules the China mainland."

There has always been a fundamental contradiction in the attitude that the United Nations has been induced by America to take toward China. Either the Peking Government is the Government that rules China or it is not. If it was a Government before General MacArthur took his troops up to the Chinese frontier it should have been recognised as eligible for admission to UN. If it was not a de facto Government it clearly could not be regarded as having governmental responsibility for the organisation of the measures against General MacArthur that it held to be necessary to the security of its frontier.

In the very fact of declaring Mao's Government an aggressor, the United Nations, on the American initiative, has recognised the Peking Government to be a Government, and in the process has condemned its own previous attitude that excluded this Government from the United Nations and thus contributed—combined with the fears created by MacArthur's action—to bring about the counter-measure which resulted in its being declared an aggressor.

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It is to be noted that Mr. Dulles does not question in his statement that it is the Peking Government that "rules the China mainland"—that it is in fact the real Government. Its crime is that being treated as an outlaw it "does not respect the elemental decencies of international conduct."

Not even the Knowlands and the Jenners can have it both ways. They cannot have China treated as an outlaw and thus a proper target for attacks emanating from Formosa and directed by a Government with a seat in the Security Council, and at the same time hold that they have a right to expect its Government to "respect the elemental decencies of international conduct."

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Mr. Dulles holds to Christian values—so he has told us more than once. It is time he ceased his shifty three-card trick operations and began to act on the assumption that the peace of the world is of even more consequence than the unity of the Republican Party.

### At Berlin

WE have been given surprisingly full reports of the preliminary window display speeches made at the opening of the Berlin Conference (we write before that of Mr. Dulles has been delivered). It is not to be expected that there will be similar publicity for the subsequent stages of the negotiations.

There cannot be drawn, of course, from the first day's proceedings conclusions of substance as to what are likely to be the results.

It is encouraging to note, however, that the statesmen seem to be approaching the Conference in a sober spirit, looking seriously at what is said by the other side and not seeking to continue the silly practice of scoring easy debating points. Generally speaking this also applies to the way in which the Press is handling the Conference.

An unpleasant exception is the News Chronicle, whose correspondent, William Forrest, opens his report by a heavy stress on the fact that all Mr. Molotov had to say had been said before, again and again. For that matter so had what Mr. Eden and M. Bidault had to say, but the truth and justice of what they said was neither diminished nor increased by that fact; and the same applies to what Mr. Molotov had to say.

The old charge levelled against the bullying egotist, "If I say it three times it is true," seems to have been inverted by the British Press into "If Russia says it three times it becomes less true." We are glad to see that the Press generally is making a more responsible approach to the Berlin Conference, and we shall dislike the News Chronicle less than we do at present if it follows suit.

### Important concessions

The fact that Mr. Molotov has referred to the American bases once again does not make them any less a reasonable ground for Russian fears. We in Britain would be equally obsessed by them if they were Russian bases. It is by no means beyond the bounds of possibility that we may come to be obsessed by them as American bases.

In its opening statement, in fact, Russia appears to have made two important concessions to the Western Powers' point of view: it puts its proposal for a Conference in which China should take part as something to come after the Berlin Conference; and it has indicated its readiness to contemplate an agreement on Austria.

### Korean armistice terms

IN view of the fresh difficulties which have occurred in Korea, it is well to recall the actual terms of the armistice agreement signed on July 27, 1953. (The italics are ours.)

Article 1 established a military demarcation line between the two contestants and a demilitarised zone.

Article 2 laid down the details of the cease-fire agreement and of supervision to ensure that it should be kept.

Article 3 dealt with the future of the prisoners as follows:

(a) That all wishing to be repatriated would be exchanged within two months of the armistice; (b) That prisoners refusing repatriation during that period would be placed in the custody of a five-nation neutral commission who would retain charge of them for a period of three months, during which period political representatives of their home countries could interview them (in the presence of members of the neutral commission) to persuade them to return to their homelands; (c) The future of prisoners who still refused to be repatriated after the three months' period would be referred to the political conference, to be held within three months of the armistice; (d) That if the political conference failed to reach agreement in the matter within 30 days the

I HAVE found myself returning several times to reflection on the apparently sudden development of an open clash between Tito and Milovan Djilas, one of Yugoslavia's four vice-premiers, a noted friend of Tito's since the guerilla war against the Nazis, and often regarded as a likely successor to Tito himself.

Very likely there has been preparation for the recent events about which few, if any, people in the West are informed. Yet it is unusual for a person in the inner circles of a government and a Marxist party to break out in the party press with open criticisms of the regime in the nation and the party as Djilas recently did.

The papers here in the USA tend to play up Djilas' strong pro-Western orientation and it may well be that his wanting to go faster in that direction than Tito was inconvenient and led to his expulsion from the Central Committee of the Communist Party.

### Why Djilas acted

If, however, this matter of pro-Westernism in foreign policy is the important issue, then one speculates whether US personnel, for example, may have been exerting pressure on Djilas in order to offset the effects of the Soviet "peace" campaign in Yugoslavia or whether, on the other hand, Djilas may have felt that he needed to act as he did because he felt elements wanting Yugoslavia to return to a pro-Soviet orientation were making too much headway and made it necessary to bring the issue into the open even though this was likely to mean an initial defeat for himself.

But my impression is that this problem of orientation in foreign policy is subordinate to Djilas' concern about the nature and structure of a Marxist or Socialist party. It is important to remember in this connection that Lenin's most basic and crucial contribution to Com-

## BEHIND THE NEWS

North Korean prisoners would be released in Korea or sent to a neutral country, as they might choose, while Chinese prisoners refusing repatriation would be sent to a neutral country.

Article 4 stated (in the form of recommendations by the opposing commanders to the Governments concerned) that a high-level political conference should be convened within three months of the armistice, to settle through negotiation the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Korea, the peaceful solution of the Korean question, etc.

### Releasing the prisoners

It will be seen that the arrangements about prisoners anticipated the convening of the political conference within a period of three months. The fact that deadlock has been reached in the preliminary arrangements, for which both sides must share the blame, has complicated the whole agreement.

The Indian Commander of the custodian force, General Thimayya, would seem to be right in his view that the agreement only gave him the custody of prisoners for three months, and that he was not entitled to hold them after that period had elapsed. The General also stated that when he released the prisoners from custody they had to be returned as prisoners-of-war and that neither Command had any right to change their status or release them without mutual agreement.

Only the political conference could decide on the future of PoWs who refused repatriation in the absence of mutual agreement.

The Americans, on the other hand, have insisted that as the conference had not met within the stated period it was against all humanitarian principles to hold the PoWs in detention after January 23.

That view does not seem to give sufficient weight to the fact that it was undoubtedly the intention of the armistice agreement to leave to the political conference the final decision about the future of these men, and that intention is not nullified by the unfortunate fact that the political conference has not met within the period anticipated.

It was never intended that the commanders of either side should have the final decision, and we believe that India was right in insisting that once it became impossible for the terms of the agreement to be carried out literally, the whole question should have been referred to UN for further discussion and an amended agreement with the Chinese and North Koreans.

### Loopholes for Rhee

It is doubtful whether the sending of Chinese prisoners to Formosa by the American command is in line with the armistice agreement. The subsequent pact between America and South Korea, which gives the USA the right to maintain American forces in South Korea indefinitely, certainly seems to prejudice in advance one of the specific instructions to the political conference.

If any part of the armistice agreement is allowed to go by default or is regarded by either side as having been broken, Rhee or others may well be tempted to break further conditions.

The South Korean leader has already announced that he considers himself free to take unilateral action after the elapse of a very few weeks.

## The real alternative to Communism

munist thought was the concept of a closely knit, tightly disciplined party of "professional revolutionaries," as against the looser and more "democratic" idea of the nature of a political party, including Socialist and Labour parties, prevalent in the West.

There was nothing Lenin fought harder than any tendency to dilute this concept of party structure and life.

There is no doubt that when a man schooled in Leninism and a long time disciplined, a successful and honoured member of a CP, begins to challenge this concept he is under-

### LETTER FROM U.S.A.

By A. J. Muste

going an inner revolution and threatening to set revolutionary changes in motion among his associates. This would be true even of a figure like Djilas who, as it now appears, has a record of being critical of Russians and Stalinism, though not of Leninism until recently.

Djilas has now publicly questioned whether it was ever necessary or good to have the rigid discipline characteristic of the CP and—heresy of heresies—whether it is necessary to have a CP at all in order to bring in Socialism.

For a number of years now I have been deeply interested in the problem of what follows—in the thinking of an individual and in the logic of political action—when a Marxist-Leninist begins to move away from the concept of the monolithic party and state. Of course, not a few just go over to "the capitalist side" either quietly or as informers like our Whittaker Chambers, Budenz and Giltows.

A good many who are too intelligent and honest to play this simple game of changing sides become, in effect, non-political as seems to be happening to Albert Camus, if I under-

### New hope from India?

Even if no further complications arise, there remains the vital question of securing the earliest possible meeting of the political conference, and that is sufficient not only to warrant the recall of the UN Assembly but to make it imperative.

The British Government has refused to recognise the urgency of the situation and seems to prefer to wait upon events.

The United States Government has turned down the proposal and even challenged the view of the President of the General Assembly, Madame Pandit, that any member state not replying to her official request by January 22 would be presumed to vote in favour of the session. She is hopeful that the requisite number of requests to reconvene the Assembly will be sent in. Russia has already expressed a desire that the Assembly should meet, and the reluctance of the Western Powers is difficult to understand and does not commend their point of view.

It is believed that Mr. Krishna Menon has a "new formula" to put before the Assembly which he hopes might achieve the political conference and a relaxation of the tension between China and the West. We can only hope that he will have an early opportunity of submitting it to the Assembly.

### Prospects for East-West trade

PROSPECTS of a substantial increase in trade between East and West have been considerably brightened by two important facts.

Although the dubbing of the British Council for the Promotion of International Trade as Communist by the Foreign Office last November prevented their intended mission to Moscow, a similar group of 30 important British industrialists are now to go to Russia, endorsed by the Board of Trade and the Soviet All-Union Chamber of Commerce.

Moreover, Mr. Harold Stassen, head of the US Foreign Aid Administration, has said that increased East-West trade could help to push democratic ideas through the Iron Curtain and might improve the relationship between East and West.

He has gone on record in favour of such trade in non-strategic materials.

A change in the economics of the Cold War through the adoption by the USA and Britain of a more liberal trade policy in regard to Russia and China might well be followed by a change in the political climate, and if the State Department are reconciled to the inevitability of allowing the Peking Government to take its rightful seat in UN in the very near future, we may well see an easing of international tension and a lessening of Communist suspicions about the professed peaceful intentions of the West.

### No butter

An American business man has had an offer from Russia to purchase 40 million pounds of butter at a price of 46 cents per pound. The USA Government buys butter for storage at 67½ cents and this makes the charge to the American housewife 80 cents per pound. Though the Government has a surplus of some 50 million pounds and here at least was the chance of dealing in butter instead of guns, the export licence has been refused. It will only be granted if Russia is prepared to pay the retail price of butter in America, but it is unreasonable to suggest that the Russians should buy American butter at nearly twice the world price for that commodity.

The political significance of the refusal is hinted at by the suggestion that if a "friendly" country was willing to relieve America of the embarrassment of the surplus at a price slightly higher than 46 cents a pound, the Department of Agriculture might lend a friendly ear.

stand correctly the reviews of his recent book and the reviewers themselves have understood the book. Others strive to find a significant political role and an instrument in which to function. Ignazio Silone is one of these.

I am opening up a subject which, of course, requires much more extended comment than is possible here and now. I must, therefore, come abruptly to my main and, for the present, final comment.

### The third way

I do not believe that the answer for men who take the course Djilas has apparently entered upon is to go back into the prevailing Western type of Social-Democratic party.

These parties are too enmeshed in nationalism and in the futile attempt to find an optimum ratio between "defence" and "social services." They give no evidence of having the answer to the economic and technological problems of the atomic age. Nor do they any longer have the élan and dynamism which the Communist movement so obviously has and which any movement which is to challenge totalitarian Communism will also have to have.

The one genuine alternative which the modern world offers is Gandhism, the non-violent revolution. And what intrigues me most about M. Djilas is that there are indications that he may be aware of this and may be moving in this direction.

I note that he demanded equal treatment of non-Communists, even bourgeoisie, with Communists. He ridiculed constant attacks on "the class enemy" as a shield for bureaucratic despotism; was "frightened" by the possible victory of bureaucracy in Yugoslavia; attended last year the Asian International Socialist Congress, in which the Indian Praja Socialist Party is very influential, and said to an interviewer recently that "one of his favourite quotations was a passage from Karl Marx that suggested all revolutions need not be violent."



## YOUR WORLD LAST WEEK

**INDIA:** Dr. Jagan left for British Guiana. He cut his stay in order to resume his "freedom struggle" with "increased vigour."

**CEYLON:** The Prime Minister, Sir John Kotelawala wants to call a conference of Asian premiers since formation of an Asian bloc might well avert a third world war. "The voice of 600 million Asians is the voice of a quarter of the world," he said.

**KENYA:** Since last April 220 tons of bombs have been dropped on Africans according to a statement in the House of Commons. Small splinter bombs are being used according to a Daily Express report. Where the bombs are dropped, said War Minister Anthony Head, "there is nobody but bad men."

**EUROPE:** NATO is to place two squadrons of atomic "doodlebugs" in Germany this year. The number of flying bombs to a squadron is a secret but is believed to be several hundreds.

The announcement was made in the USA while discussions on the Berlin conference were taking place. Because their Catalan champion chess player was invited to the Hastings tournament and then asked to stay away when the Russians accepted an invitation from Britain, Spain is to withdraw from the British Federation.

**USA:** Governor Tajmadge, of Georgia, is prepared to use whatever means are necessary, including the state militia, to preserve the separation of White and Negro races in schools. The Supreme Court is expected to give judgement this summer on school segregation.

### Gandhian Study Centre opened

A Centre for Gandhian Studies has been opened at Wardha, India. Among other things the Centre will have an international house for scholars from different parts of the world to study and exchange views on Gandhian philosophy.

An International Hostel was opened on the same day by Prime Minister Nehru at Sevagram where Mahatma Gandhi spent much of his later life. Three of the houses of the hostel were built by members of the Service Civil International.

### New American anti-war magazine

A monthly magazine of articles, stories and poetry, Toward, is to be published in the US.

The emphasis will be on the rediscovery of individual man; the rebirth of art in and for living; a search for the end of the horror of war.

Those interested in receiving the magazine or contributing to it are invited to write to William Margolis and Felix Singer, 2508 San Pablo Avenue, Berkeley 2, Calif., or Pasquale Rizzo, 635 W. 115th Street, New York City.

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## FORUM OF CONSCIENCE

# Soldier from Malaya refused "the easy way out"

From SYLVIA STEVENSON

I ATTENDED my first Appellate Tribunal for conscientious objectors last week. The experience reinforces one's belief in the strength of the human spirit.

I pick out three cases only, for reasons of space.

First, Derek Holtom. This young soldier, having served eighteen months in Hong Kong and Malaya, returned to England in 1952, transferred to the Territorials, and only last June became finally convinced that to continue his army service was contrary to God's will. His Adjutant, to whom the boy paid tribute, offered him "the easy way out"—registration for non-combat duties—but he felt obliged to refuse.

He found that the only way he could apply for registration as a CO was to commit a technical offence and get sent to prison for it. This he did, and is now at the end of a three month's sentence.

Why this delay in discovering his convictions? This is what the Tribunal, three venerable gentlemen are anxious to find out.

In answer to legally searching questions put by one of his witnesses, the boy explains that he reached the crucial decision entirely on his

own account (All applicants are anxious to prove this, although they stand a better chance if they can prove a religious home background).

His father, a Methodist youth leader of 30 years standing explains: "My boy is not impulsive or impetuous, he makes a cautious approach to most problems. I'm glad he did not decide this at 17, when he had everything to gain and nothing to lose. Now on the contrary he has everything to lose and nothing to gain" (Nothing but his own soul, the father might have added, but wisely says no provocative word).

He tells of a letter his son received advising him thus: "After all, you'll only have to attend three more camps, playing at soldiers, and there's not likely to be another war for 3½ years anyhow." This equivocal advice was "received with the contempt it deserved," says Holtom's father.

### No hatred

The boy's whole desire now is to be allowed to go on working as a Youth Club leader. "I feel this is the service God wants me to do," he says, adding that even when he went to Malaya he felt he must go "bearing no hatred."

Will he receive exemption, or will he have to go on being imprisoned? That depends on the War Office, to whom the case is now referred.

Next comes Raymond Hurst, a member of one of the Assemblies of the Church of God.

Having registered for the Merchant Navy without telling his father, because "at first he did not think it wrong" he also has a change of mind, apparently sudden, after only two months had elapsed. At the local tribunal his appeal for registration as a CO was rejected on the ground that "change of views does not mean change of heart." This Tribunal considered he had been coerced, or unduly influenced, by his family, all of whom are Jehovah's Witnesses.

The account of his conversion is drawn from him with difficulty word by word. He attended a Gospel meeting at his sister's house, at which a visiting evangelist preached from the text, "If ye love me, keep my commandments." He had felt that this message was addressed directly to himself. (We were not allowed to hear which commandment was in question, but presumably it was "Thou shalt not kill.")

So he had deliberately disobeyed an order knowing that it meant court martial and prison.

His great desire is to be a whole-time preacher. Will his appeal for registration as a CO be granted? Here too we must await the answer from the War Office.

### Grandfathers' influence

Lastly let us consider the case of C. H. Young. This, his witness explains is a difficult case, because the applicant having had inadequate education, is unable to express himself readily and cannot understand abstract concepts.

Brought up from the start of World War II by a grandfather who had been gassed in World War I, and who still suffered from night terrors, he had no doubt been influenced against wars in general. It was not until 1949, said the CO's father, that he "got him away."

The father, standing beside his son, was the embodiment of hatred and contempt for all

### Englishman honoured by Americans warns of

## THE PERIL OF THE SPLIT MIND

"THE greatest task which faces education today is to harmonise the claims of our country with the claims of the world," said James Avery Joyce, in an address to the University College of San Gabriel in Southern California.

"Unless education can, in our lifetime, achieve that adjustment, our vaunted civilisation will crumble into atom dust. For the greatest peril which confronts mankind is not the split atom, but the split mind."

James Avery Joyce, prospective Labour candidate for Norwood, is one of Britain's leading World Government advocates.

The College had conferred on him at their degree ceremony on December 13, an Honorary Doctorate in recognition of his "services to international education in the United States." His address, responding to this honour, continues:

### Hugging atomic secrets

"In our lifetime, the advances of technology and physical science have been so vast and so swift that we have barely had time to organise them for the common good. When you come to think of it, that national governments should be hugging the secrets of atomic energy to themselves is the most ridiculous and farcical proceeding since the reputed Fall of Man. In an earth that is bound together, or rather shrunk together, by the intimacy of communication and transportation, especially in the related fields of radiology and aviation, science has made it essential for us to run our mutual political concerns and our interlocking economies along the lines of a Parliament of Man."

"If we had put as much brains into government as we have put into technology, the federation of the world would already be an accomplished fact."

After speaking of the "two ugly giants which bestride the path of world unity" Communism and Militarism, he continues:

"Now that World War has become synonymous with world disintegration by means of the hydrogen bomb, peaceful means are the only means left to us. The first qualification of Free Man is to be alive. In this desire the Communist countries stand equal with the rest of us. War is the common enemy; peace is the only hope. And World Citizenship is the new Declaration of Independence which our age demands to fulfil that hope."

### No more medals

"We have long been warned that it would come to this," he continued, and after quoting from the words of Field-Marshal Jan Smuts of South Africa, at the conclusion of World War I, and from Sir Winston Churchill's early memoirs, he adds those uttered a few months ago by President Eisenhower in presenting the Medal of Honor to seven men who fought in the Korean war:

"You must be the last. Instead of leading at battle, you must lead at peace. You must make certain that no other young men follow you up these steps to receive medals."

Lastly James Avery Joyce reminds his hearers that World Citizenship means more than negative victories over militarism:

"It means the construction of the institutions of a peaceful society and the world minds which must inspire them. The United Nations through its specialised agencies and other peace building functions . . . is turning the technique of peace making into the art of World Government, though it is not yet called by that name."

"The world citizen who goes out from this College to apply his knowledge to the affairs of the outside world . . . will become a bridge of understanding over which the anxious minds of our time can find the real security which comes, and can only come, from living together as fellow citizens in this wonderful Century of Man."

January 29, 1954, PEACE NEWS—3

## A BIG VENTURE



TEN thousand American members of the Fellowship of Reconciliation are to receive sample copies of Peace News and an invitation to become regular subscribers.

The mailing of these copies has commenced at the rate of one thousand a week.

This venture is an example of Anglo-American team work for peace. Ten thousand addressed labels have been supplied to us by the American FoR staff in New York. The wrapping and dispatching of copies is being done by Peace News voluntary workers at Peace News' London office.

The cost of postage and printing the extra copies is going to be met, we are quite sure, by another group of voluntary helpers—the readers of this appeal.

The American FoR have their own splendid monthly publication, Fellowship, to support; a periodical from which many fine articles have been reprinted in Peace News in recent years. The fact that the AFor has so readily consented to help Peace News meet the need for a pacifist weekly newspaper in the USA is a very great tribute to their generosity of outlook.

We ask every reader to match it, by giving as generously as possible both to our American Mailing Fund which needs £130 and to our Forward Fund, which must not fail to hit its 1954 target of £2,000.

HUGH BROCK.

Contributions since January 15: £20 13s. 2d. Total for 1954: £48 11s. 10d.

Please make cheques, etc., payable to Peace News Ltd., and address them to Vera Brittain, Treasurer, Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

that pacifism stands for: "All I can say is, he must be sincere if he takes the punishment I've given him . . . Brought up by his grandfather this is the result. I forced him to join a boxing club, but I found out he was always hiding away, and wouldn't attend."

"Did you ask him why?"

"He said he did not like to see fellows knocking each other about."

Through all the questioning the father swells with self-approval.

But the Chairman then addresses the father: "And where did you serve in the last war?" whereupon it turns out that he was in a reserved occupation.

Thus ends the inquisition on the conscience of C. H. Young, this inarticulate but sentient human being who can only repeat: "My conscience tells me that it is wrong to take life."

He cannot plead membership of any religious body. His home was not religious; he has never been to pacifist meetings; or considered the complicated issues. All he has is his own conscience.

But that is apparently not enough. His application is rejected.

### Youth clubs "bugbear of our civilisation"

A BRISTOL applicant, P. Evans, of 36 Perrycroft Avenue, Bishopsworth, who said he was 17-years-old and worked as a wages clerk, told the South West Conscientious Objectors Tribunal, at Bristol last week, he regarded youth clubs as the "bugbear of our civilisation."

He was a member of the Open Brethren, objected to military service and did not attend any youth clubs.

He was told by the chairman, Judge E. H. C. Wethered, that youth clubs were "one of the saving forces in the world."

Evans was registered on condition that he worked as an agricultural labourer or in a hospital for two years.

## Why not an atom-bomb flag day?

The following leading article appeared in the South Wales Voice. The Editor of that old-established newspaper has kindly given us permission to reproduce it, and we do so both for its intrinsic interest and because it is encouraging to find an article of this type in an organ of the general Press.

SINCE nobody else seems to be saying it, let us start off by saying how much, as a newspaper, we like Dr. Donald Soper, the President of the Methodist Conference, who visits Swansea on Sunday.

Soper has that rare thing in a minister or a parson—political guts. He speaks his mind.

It is customary for modern society (including the newspapers and the politicians) to suggest in one way or another that a man of Soper's calibre is a bit of an eccentric, a crank.

He attacks the atom bomb. He attacks rearmament. He tells us that if we used our airfields to grow corn, used all the steel allocated for guns to make ploughs, and used all the labour power prostituted by war, we could meet the demand of an almost illimitable population.

These views, of course, are very old according to our modern standards.

Today we throw millions into the Treasury for war and the atom bomb, while giving (in comparison) only pennies to meet real human needs.

In our society people still trip around asking in a shame-faced way for a donation for this or that. Cancer, a modern scourge, is a matter of pennies-in-the-hat and public charity.

Of course, it is all wrong. We should be devoting the millions the Exchequer spares

for military purposes to things like feeding the people of the world, and medical research.

If some men want to spend enormous fortunes on planning the eventual extermination of this and other nations through the use of the atom bomb, then these are the people who should come last—not first—in the queue for our national money.

Why not (if some people want it) leave the atom bomb open as a subject of charity. Why not an "Atom bomb flag day?"

It is we who have things topsy-turvy. Modern society—not Soper—is eccentric.

Here we are in Britain, with little-enough money to go around, bearing the burden of a vast imperial empire which we cannot basically afford, trying to police half the world, conscripting our sons to shoot Africans, Malaysians—or whoever comes up fighting for the next round.

This bankrupt race still tries to act with the grandeur of an imperial colossus.

There is a striking parallel between the sayings of Soper today and the saying of that little-headed Jewish carpenter, Jesus, in Galilee 2,000 years ago.

Who is sane? That carpenter and Dr. Soper—or the men who inhabit Downing Street, Washington and Moscow today?

You know that answer as well as we do.



# FRIENDSHIP

## Through their work-study travel system, Peacebuilders offer:

THE Work-Study Travel System was founded in 1949 to promote international understanding and good will by providing opportunities for people interested in social and international problems to stay in private homes, community, social and educational establishments, known as Open-Doors.

We can give only a brief summary of the diversity which awaits travellers in the countries where the scheme operates.

In Finland is Viittakivi International College, closely associated with both the Social Settlement and Work Camp movements. Here students from many lands take courses in such subjects as languages, sociology, current affairs, considered from an international angle. They find that a basic feature of the college life is the balance between study, manual work on the college's own farm, the social life and opportunities for exchange of ideas.

Open-Doors in Sweden are mainly scattered over the rural areas, with a few in Stockholm. In Norway they are in Oslo, Trondhjem, Stavanger, the Nansen School at Lillehammer, and even as far north as Alta, within the Polar Circle.

Denmark has over 50, including among them several of the Folk High Schools for which Denmark is famous. One, the Husmands-skole at Store Restrup, is for smallholders, giving them opportunities to study between the

- Opportunities for personal contact.
- Opportunities for service.
- Opportunities for study—but in unconventional ways
- Opportunities to travel—but if you merely want to "see the world" there are other and more comfortable ways.

seasonal demands of their work. Its Director is also Chairman of Aldrig mere Krig (Danish branch of the War Resisters International). Travellers can stay in the homes of farmers, teachers and leading figures in the Danish

□ Page Seven

### LET FRIENDSHIP UNITE WHERE FRONTIERS DIVIDE

#### The International Friendship League

THIS movement which was founded in 1931 and which aims at promoting international understanding by bringing people of all nationalities into friendly contact with one another, is already well known to many Peace News readers.

Apart from some 80 branches and groups in this country, where there are educational and social activities, 10 national sections of the League exist on the Continent while there are contacts and affiliated clubs throughout the world. There are about 10,000 IFL members of whom about 4,000 are in Britain.

No fewer than eighteen different countries are covered by the 1954 IFL Holiday Programme, and most of these inexpensive centres are organised by local branches, so that members can co-operate in the reception of visitors.

In Britain, holiday centres are run on the same lines, and one of the most successful visits last year was that of a party of Yugoslav teachers to Wimbledon.

The cost of board and accommodation at IFL centres in Britain and Ireland is in most cases between £4 and £5 a week.

Holiday visits to the Continent include travel tickets and seat reservations in addition to board and accommodation, so that the prices vary according to distance.

As the IFL is a non-commercial organisation, costs are cut to the minimum. For instance, the inclusive price for a week in Holland is £13 10s., and for a fortnight £17 15s. A fortnight can be spent in Switzerland for as little as £24 5s. including travel via the short sea route and special train.

But what the IFL prides itself upon is not mere cheapness, but the permanent results that are obtained by these visits. Many lasting bonds of friendship have been joined in this way, and the IFL motto is "Let Friendship unite where frontiers divide."

### An International Vegetarian Youth Camp

AN international vegetarian youth camp in the French Pyrenees is being planned by the International Vegetarian Union for the fortnight August 1 to 14.

The camp will be based on the Vega Guest House, situated 2,000 feet up in the Hautes-Pyrenees country about seven miles from the Lannemezan railway station on the Toulouse-Bayonne line.

The house, which has a library in three languages and a music room, is surrounded by 20 acres of gardens, orchards, fields and woods with facilities for camping and river bathing. Further details may be had from the IVU Secretary, Hanworth Walker, 247 Tottenham Court Rd., London, W.1.

### New American Venture

AN opportunity of getting behind the scenes in Europe is offered to Americans by Friendship Tours International (Box 1798, New Haven, Conn., USA).

To make it possible for Americans to meet Europeans as neighbours and friends, Friendship Tours have arranged for their travellers to stay, among others places, at Freundshaft-sheim in German; The Mill of Peace, (Andre Trocme) in Versailles and Agape in Italy.

### International Tramping Tours

INTERNATIONAL TRAMPING TOURS is a movement to promote peace through international understanding.

It aims at enabling groups of peoples (British and others) to travel in countries other than their own at a minimum cost, tramping and sharing simple accommodation, thereby making intimate contacts with the individuals who constitute the peoples of the world.

It is now 25 years since ITT was born, for it was in 1929 that a mixed party of English folk tramped through the Rhineland using Youth Hostels, and out of the experience and spirit of that party International Tramping Tours grew rapidly, pioneering the road of simple walking holidays abroad.

A non-profit-making concern, ITT is run by the voluntary help of its members because they believe such an unpretentious walking holiday provides the best means of seeing and getting to know a country and its people. And that through such intimate contacts a wider international fellowship may develop which will further the aim of peace.

The 1954 programme offers a choice of about 40 holidays in most countries of Europe and in North Africa. They are usually for a fortnight and cater for all degrees of energy, from a strenuous mountain tour in the Alps to a sight-seeing tour in Scandinavia or a centre on the sunny coast of Tuscany.

Every effort is made to keep costs low—you can spend a fortnight in Holland for as little as £17 10s.—including travel from Hull back to Hull—and there is very little need for additional spending on the part of members.

As the object is to take people abroad and not to make profit, leaders distribute to members of their parties any surplus over cost at the end of the holiday.

On the walking tours most of the accommodation is in Youth Hostels or mountain huts, which are simple but clean and comfortable, and where there is ample opportunity

to meet and make friends with young people of other countries. There are also tours with hotel accommodation throughout.

Meetings with foreign friends are arranged and they are encouraged to join parties, both on the Continent and in this country, where two tours are arranged especially for them.

Parties are small (average number 12) and friendly, and no one need have any doubts about booking individually. ITT can also make arrangements to put on additional tours for groups of people wishing to go on holiday



LUNCH IN THE MOUNTAINS

#### EUROPEAN YOUTH TRAVEL AGENCY

JOACHIM W. COLLING  
Bremen, Aumund, An Der Aue 3, Box 70, Germany

Arranges: Individual and group exchanges, correspondence exchange, introductions and group journeys on request.

Information Service: On Camping and sport tourism Holiday centres and holiday camps International youth hostelling Summer universities and holiday seminars Harvest camps and voluntary work camps

I am correspondent in Germany for leading youth travel and exchange organisations in Europe.

#### Make friends abroad

ITT's low cost tours and centres are planned specially to help you get know the folk among whom you travel abroad. Stamp please for 1954 programme

#### INTERNATIONAL TRAMPING TOURS

Dept. PN, 6, Bainbrigg Road, Leeds, 6

#### INTERNATIONAL VEGETARIAN YOUTH CAMP

PYRENEES 1 - 14 August approx. £9

Excellent catering

Full, varied programme. Information from

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247, Tottenham Court Road, London, W.1

#### For your holiday reading guide books maps

Send to:

#### HOUSMANS BOOKSHOP

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COME NOW! Enjoy a break with golden sunrises, loving care, comfort and plenty, storing health. Morningside, Tower Road West, St. Leonards-on-sea  
Phone HASTINGS 3191

COTSWOLD HILLS. The Yew Trees, Cockleford, Cowley, Cheltenham. Excellent centre; good food; 15s. 6d. daily; £4 15s. weekly. Brochure from Lilla Tansley.

EIRE. To let furnished summer months, large house, suit Community. Families sharing. Modern. Close sea and Dublin. 12 gns. weekly. Box No. 534

TORQUAY VEGETARIAN GUEST HOUSE. "Nutcombe", Rowdens Rd. Ideal for early holidays. H & C and gas fires in bedrooms, excellent food. Highly recommended. Mr. & Mrs. E. S. White.

### HOLIDAY FRIENDSHIP SERVICE

1. The H.F.S. aims to offer inexpensive holidays abroad which give the opportunity of meeting the people of other countries at work and on holiday.
2. It is the policy of the H.F.S. Members' Club to give every help, especially to those going abroad for the first time and those with children; not to provide paid guides or arranged conducted tours or other features of commercial tourism.

1954 Programme offers 50 holidays in 14 countries including

BELGIUM	PORTUGAL	AUSTRIA	ISRAEL
H.F.S. Centre on Manor-farm near Ghent. 15 days inc. £16-10-0 Child 0-3 free.	Lisbon, Oporto, country village. Outward liner 16 days inc. £26 Out/Ret. liner 19 days inc. £39	Mount. village (Russian Zone), one hour from Vienna. 16 days inc. £28 (with Vienna, £34)	Outward and return liner from Marseilles. 10 days tour in Israel. 23 days inc. £71

For Programme send stamped addressed envelope to

5 Goodwin's Court, London, W.C.2

### HOLIDAY FRIENDSHIP SERVICE



Berne, beautiful capital of Switzerland is one of the places you can see in the friendly fashion of International Tramping Tours.

together if adequate notice is given.

All information can be obtained from—The Secretary, International Tramping Tours, 6 Bainbrigg Road, Leeds, 6.



# HOLIDAYS

## Country Guest House

By LILLA TANSLEY

"WHEN you are in business you have to remember that the customer is always right."

How well I remember a friend saying that to me, more than half seriously, in the early days of my venture.

A guest had arrived and within minutes was holding forth against the Labour Government, the Budget (presented that day), the Russians, and was demanding more rearmament. I had ventured the reply that I supported the Labour Government and didn't approve of rearmament.

I remember too the family, with an Indian army background, who used to call regularly for tea, till they discovered I approved of the National Health Service, and the abolition of the death penalty.

But such people are rare.

I started my Guest House with the aim of providing simple accommodation, as cheaply as possible for people who wanted something

less spartan and strenuous than a Youth Hostel, but more closely in touch with the real life of the country than a hotel.

I have always regarded the Youth Hostel practice of one fixed charge with no seasonal variation as sound in principle, and have established my finances on that basis. It has often brought comment from my guests, and once involved me in an amusing situation with a Scotsman, who for this reason wanted to pay me more, but had an equally strong objection to tipping!

★

The only sure bond between my guests is a love for the country. Their special love may be rambling, browsing in churches, sketching, collecting fossils, or just idling, but to them all the country brings refreshment of mind and body. Not, by any means, all are pacifist, though many are "Leftish."

Do I actively try to "put over pacifism" to them? The idea fills me with horror, for I know that I should shy off from any attempt to put an "ism" over me on holiday. My small library offers quite a varied choice from thrillers to books on pacifism and socialism, and among the weekly newspapers provided is Peace News. I never hide my opinions and am always ready to "have a go" if discussion starts among my guests, but the initiative is always with them.

## HISTORY IS IN THEIR STONES

THREE Quaker hostels which provide accommodation for either visitors or small conferences are rich in their antiquity and set in delightful countryside.

**Charney Manor**, at Charney-Bassett, Wantage, Berkshire, is perhaps the oldest of country houses still inhabited and was once the Grange of the Abbot of Abingdon, built about 1260.

There is a central block, rebuilt in the 16th century, running north and south, mainly in its 13th century state. The south wing consists of an undercroft, solar and chapel, with massive ceiling beams, double lancet windows in the east and a plain square headed window in the south wall, all probably original.

The Old Jordans Hostel was, in 1670, the farmhouse home of William Russell. He was a Quaker and, as Friends were not allowed to build their own Meeting Houses, local Quakers met for Meeting in the farmhouse kitchen.

In a secluded fold of the Sussex Weald, near Horsham, is the Blue Idol Guest House. This ancient farmhouse—the origin of its name is lost in the past—is one of the earliest Friends Meeting Houses and, like Jordans, has many associations with William Penn, the founder of Pennsylvania.

With its timbered frame and grey lichened roof of Horsham stone, it was known as the "old house" in Penn's time.

Terms for accommodation at these hostels range from £4 4s. to £6 6s. per week with special terms for group bookings.

## Easter Youth Conference

DOES poverty lead to corruption and war? How can we ease tension between East and West? What is involved in effective peace-making?

These are some of the questions to be discussed at the Fellowship of Reconciliation's Easter Youth Holiday Conference to be held at the For's conference centre at Haverhill, Suffolk, from Thursday evening, April 15 to Tuesday morning, April 20.

Discussion leaders include, Edith Adlam, who has travelled in the Far East; John Hoyland, Field Secretary, Friends Peace Committee (Quakers); Neville Wellington, Schoolmaster and youth leader; Clifford Macquire and Hugh Faulkner, General and Organising Secretaries of the For.

Cost per head for the five days is £3 2s. 6d.; those unable to afford the full amount are invited to contribute as much as they are able. Booking fee of 5s. should be sent to the For at 29 Great James St., London, W.C.1.

## PPU Holiday Conference

THOSE who were present at the 1953 Summer Conference of the Peace Pledge Union and enjoyed the inspiration, recreation and fellowship that it provided will be glad to know that a similar Conference is to be arranged this year.

Pacifists and their friends should note that it will be held from August 14 to 21.

The place has yet to be decided upon. It may be Aberystwyth, Glynllifon (near Carnarvon) or at Abergel, where it was held last year. The charge will vary from £4 10s. to £5 5s., according to the place chosen.

In each of these places there will be pleasant surroundings, the sea, liberal facilities for recreation and the fellowship of kindred spirits. Full particulars of the Conference will be announced shortly from Dick Sheppard House, 6 Endsleigh St., London, W.C.1.



"Meeting the people of other countries at work and on holiday."

This picture shows the members of a Yugoslav farmers' co-operative at work. Visits to Yugoslavia can now be arranged through Holiday Friendship Services.

## Sound advice for those going abroad FROM THE HOLIDAY FRIENDSHIP SERVICE

THE HOLIDAY FRIENDSHIP SERVICE, which aims to offer inexpensive holidays abroad, and the opportunity of meeting the people of other countries at work and on holiday, has three valuable paragraphs entitled "Hints for holiday makers" in their 1953 report (2s. 6d. from 5, Goodwins Court, W.C.2).

### WHAT TO TAKE AND WHAT NOT TO TAKE

Visitors would enjoy their holidays far better if they did not burden themselves with heavy suitcases. There is some division of opinion as to whether rucksack or zipped canvas holdall is the more convenient, but all experienced travellers are agreed that suitcases are a nuisance—they are difficult to carry for long distances and, unless of expensive leather (which adds to the weight), can be ruined in one good continental down-pour of rain.

### CLOTHES

In most countries, visitors can manage on very few clothes. Most hotels offer cheap laundry services (by the chambermaid) for underwear and cotton frocks or shirts. We include a separate section on climate and weather conditions and visitors would be well advised to consult this before packing. Women should be deterred from packing expensive creations (if they have them) as none of our hotels are of fashionable type and they will only spend most of their holiday worrying about their clothes. A light raincoat is advisable in all cases; do not imagine that you can entirely avoid rain wherever you go.

### FOOD

Applicants are strongly advised to take their own food for the journey, as this will save expense and disappointment. Whole food, not sandwiches, should be taken; sandwiches become dry and in any case you become sick of the sight of them before the end of the journey. We would suggest a loaf of bread, butter, cooked ham or bacon (not sliced), boiled eggs, plenty of fruit—apples, bananas—and tomatoes. It is useful to take tins of sardines or pilchards as a reserve. If you want to do things in style, roast a chicken and take it whole. Take a bottle or thermos flask for water—you will be able to replenish it on stations but only use water marked for drinking.

Railway workers have substantial reductions in the HFS programme. Where the normal rate for 21 days in Bulgaria or Portugal is £45, railway workers pay only £24 and £23 respectively.

## Youth Clubs, Factory Canteens, Hostels, Quaker Meetings.

These two pages form a broadsheet for holiday planners. Pin it up on your notice board.

January 29, 1954, PEACE NEWS—5

## Holidays, plus . . .

### THE PEACE NEWS HOLIDAY BUREAU

PACIFISTS, and friendship. They go together, and quite obviously a good number of our readers express their comradeship in a vacation for vacations.

So, as they say in the market, if you want good holidays, "We have them," and the PEACE NEWS HOLIDAY BUREAU starts its pleasant career by offering you a really impressive array of services.

Unhappily your Bureau lacks the opportunity to sample personally the delights of all the good friends who are advertising this week. Nevertheless it is sufficiently acquainted with its holiday-vendors to commend them warmly.

They have supported the paper well by joining so readily in our scheme. Now you must support them by sending early holiday enquiries—and letting your friends know about the services offered.

● Whether you want a happy family holiday, a tramping tour, or a caravan, adventure in other lands, a work camp, a conference holiday or almost anything else, you will find a number of addresses here where your plans can be fulfilled. Readers visiting London and other inland centres will note that their needs have not been overlooked.

The Bureau can supply brochures from most of the advertisers, and will do its best to furnish any other information you may require. Please enclose a stamped addressed envelope.

### THE PEACE NEWS HOLIDAY BUREAU

3 Blackstock Road

London, N.4

A COMFORTABLE GUEST HOUSE in lovely Yorkshire Dales village. Warm friendly atmosphere; home baking; personal attention; delightful garden; boating; private fishing; garage. Manor House, Burnall (Wharfedale), Skipton.

MOST BENEFICIAL HOLIDAY with attractive and appetising vegetarian meals. Home-made wholemeal bread. Now booking for season. Telephone Callander 103. Brook Linn, Callander, Perthshire, Scotland.

BEACONWOOD HOTEL, Minehead, Somerset. Vegetarian. Superb moor and sea views; tennis court. H & C in all rooms. Tel.: 32. BED AND BREAKFAST. 3 gns. p.w. or 10s. 6d. p. night. Lewis, 23 Hale St., Aylesbury, Bucks.

BLUE IDOL (Quaker) Guest House, Coolham, Horsham, Sussex. William Penn associations, modern amenities, beautiful surroundings. Tel.: Cootham 241.

BOURNEMOUTH (Boscombe). Small Guest House near sea. H & C all rooms. Personal supervision. Vegetarian and ordinary diet. Norah Bailey, Court Green, 18 Glen Rd. Tel.: 33621.

BRAZERS PARK—residential centre for social recreation and creative leisure. Facilities (incl. studios and library) open to holiday guests. Details from Miss N. Pearce, Brazers, Ipsden, Oxon.

BRENDON HILLS, Somerset. Ideal country holiday. Fred and Alice House, Huish Champflower, Wiveliscombe.

BRIGHTON—HOME. Vegetarian Guest House. Central for entertainments. 44 Osmond Rd., Hove, 2. Tel.: 38030. Ralph Walton, MSF. Osteopathy—Massage.

BRYN TANAT. Comfortable country house in Welsh border area, 7 miles from Oswestry, H & C and radiators most bedrooms, comfortable beds. Good library, radio/television available. Three houses. Vegetarian catering only. Mrs. Highfield, Llansantffraid, Mont., Wales.

BUCKINGHAMSHIRE. Old Jordans Hostel, Beaconsfield. Quaker Guest House in delightful country, short distance from London. Central heating. Terms Five Guineas per week.

COCKAIGN—FRANCE. "The Briers," Crich, Mallock—Vegetarian Guest House. Happy country holidays in a friendly atmosphere. Modest charges. Available conferences. Ronald and Margaret Heymans, Tel.: Ambergate 44.

DEVON AND CORNWALL. Holidays in Friendly Guest Houses. Dawlish and Newquay. Exceptionally good value. Excursions conducted. Illustrated brochure 11 free from: Douglas Bishop, "Fairfield," Dawlish, Devon (Tel. 2151).

EDINBURGH, Nile Grove Hotel, Morning-side, for warmth, comfort and excellent cuisine (orthodox or vegetarian). En pension terms from 1 gns. per day. Tel.: 543821.

FAIRLIGHT—SUSSEX. "The Briers," Crich, Mallock—Vegetarian Guest House. Happy country holidays in a friendly atmosphere. Modest charges. Available conferences. Ronald and Margaret Heymans, Tel.: Ambergate 44.

FRESHWATER BAY, IOW. Dimbola. 1954 Brochure ready. Special terms January/May. S. Stoner, Dimbola, Freshwater Bay.

DORSET. Country holiday in lovely surroundings. One or two guests welcomed by Misses Thorne, "Lennon Heath", Pifford, Wimborne. Every comfort. Home produce. Tel.: 2440.

NORTH DEVON. Board-residence or caravan. Children welcome. Veg. and non-veg. meals. Reasonable. Hutchins, Heddon's Gate, Parracombe.

### Why not spend your Spring or Summer Holiday in the Lake District?

Highfield Vegetarian Guest House, The Heads, Keswick. Among beautiful Lake and Mountain Scenery. Offers Good Food, Comfort, Friendly Atmosphere.

Ann Horner. Tel.: Keswick 508. Y.C.A. Member.

### International Voluntary Service for Peace Hostel

Inexpensive temporary or permanent accommodation and meals for men and women. Open all the year round. Full details from the Warden.

19 PEMBRIDGE VILLAS, LONDON, W.11 Tel.: BAY 4937 2 mins. Notting Hill Gate Tube

### If You Enjoy

- ★ Spending your holiday (abroad or in Britain) with new friends and at reasonable cost
- ★ Meeting and corresponding with people from other countries

## YOU WILL BE INTERESTED IN THE INTERNATIONAL FRIENDSHIP LEAGUE

a non-political organisation with many years experience of arranging holiday centres and travel. For details of the League's activities, including holiday programme, send 12d. in stamps to:—

I.F.L. (PN), 3, Cromwell Road, London, S.W.7

### Usually Good Weather Early and Late in

### SKYE

Dunollie Hotel Broadford

Good food and service H & C

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# 'FINE CHEEK'

## The story of Moroka

By CAROLINE MAVUSO

On September 11 we published an article by Reginald Reynolds, "Shanty Town Heroine," in which he told the story of Caroline and the shanty-town dwellers outside Johannesburg. We have now received from another of her friends Caroline's story as told by herself.

IT was in 1946 that the African people of Johannesburg left their crowded homes and came one night to camp in their thousands on the open veld, as their leaders had advised them.

They came from Pimville township, from Newclare, from Western Native Township, from Alexandra and even from far away places on the East Rand.

They came because their crowded homes could no longer hold them. They had begged and pleaded with the Municipality to build more houses for them. They had crowded more thickly every shack and shed in the backyards and alleys. They had built rough shacks in every forgotten corner. Their leaders had visited the City Fathers, but deaf ears and unseeing eyes had been turned to their pleadings.

Finally they could endure no more.

The leaders had returned to the people and had said, we will all rise up together in one night; we will take with us what we can of our belongings; we will gather at one spot on the veld; we will take what we can of wood

mud bricks we made for ourselves from the earth dug out for the sanitariums, or perhaps of wood and iron, or even of brick—those who knew how to build.

All the time the men and some of the women went to work in the city. Children were everywhere.

There was my home, just one big room 20ft. square on my 20ft. stand. I took in some of the children and cared for them. We played together, we sang, we tried to keep clean. There was little on which to feed them. I told my friends and the mothers and fathers they must get food from somewhere. The food came. There were 50 or 60 children.

Presently Michael Scott gave me £200 he had collected from the people to help the children at the Camp. So we had food.

Mr. Molefe, an officer of the Non-European Affairs Department (NEAD), used to see the children in front of my hut; he informed Mrs. Huntley of the NEAD about me and she came and offered to help with money and clothes; she got her friends to help too. The Welfare Department of the City Council got the food for me at low prices.

Then the Bantu Welfare Trust and Mr. Donaldson gave the people some money and with it, several big schools were built. The one my children went to, now has nearly 1,000 children, but it began in my house.

This school could not take the two, three and four-year-olds. So I took these into my house once more. Soon I had 90 in the one room.

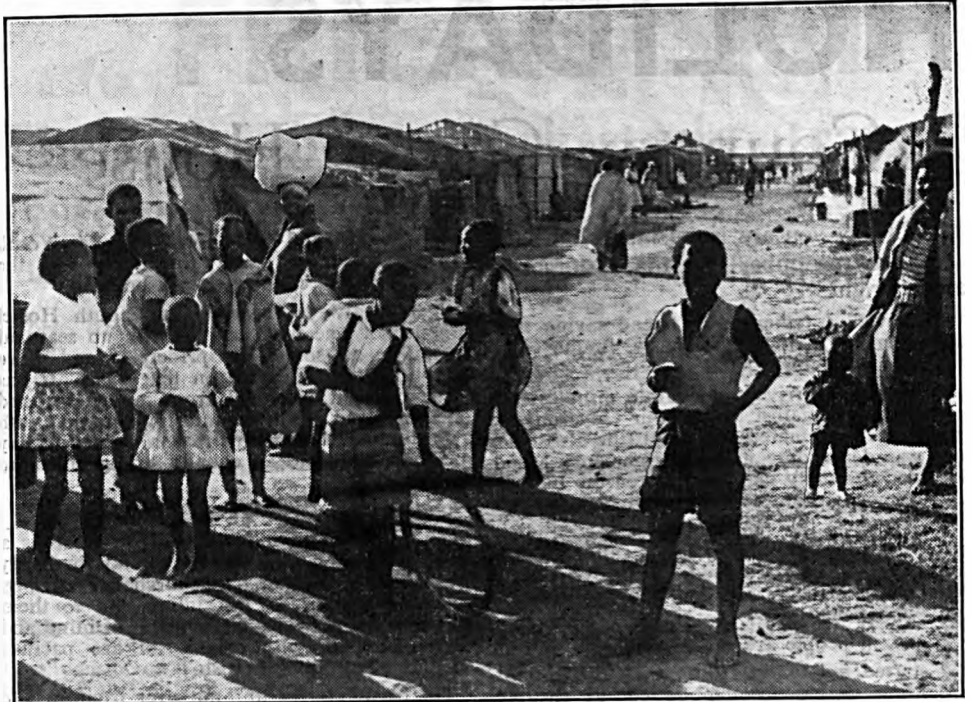
I said to myself, God must help me to make a nursery school for them. Where can we go?

Nearby was an empty farm-house; the farmer had left when the Moroka Camp was set up. It had been empty for a year, or two years.

I went to Mr. Fox, the Superintendent of the Camp and said: "You must give me the key of that farm-house for my school."

He said the Health Department wanted it for a clinic.

I said it had been empty for years; I would use it while it was empty if he would give me



Side street in Moroka . . . "we will build what shelter we can"

the key. He gave me the key and we moved in.

The children used to play in a little wood of trees, some climbing, some playing games on the ground, others running about in the sunshine. (The Health Department *did* come: after three months they said they wanted it for the Clinic!)

Now, I said, we must get ready to build a place for ourselves. Mrs. Huntley sent out letters to people asking for money. A Jewish lady, Mrs. Kotkin of Roodepoort, who ran the Bantu Bus Service, gave me £5.

I went to Mr. Fox and said, "Can you keep a secret?" He said, "Yes, I can keep a secret; what is it?" I said, "Here is a cheque for £5; I want you to keep it so that I can build my Nursery school." So he kept it. He said I must see Mr. Cadle, the senior superintendent, about building the school.

Mrs. Huntley got the children of Saxonwold School to knit jerseys and to bring old clothes. By selling these, we raised about £6. Sister Margaret brought me clothes to see too. I took the money to Mr. Fox and said, "Keep it please, with the £5."

THEN I looked at my children sleeping on the damp ground under the trees at the farmhouse, because it was too small to take them all. This was in the summer afternoons, until their mothers came home, and I thought, I will write a letter to the papers.

So I wrote, on October 29, 1947: What are the people of Johannesburg thinking of, who

are Christian people, that they will visit the sins of the parents upon the children—when even the parents have not caused destruction and harm, but have only demanded what they must have—a place to live. Why must my children sleep on the damp ground after the thunderstorms? You must act like Christians and care for these children of your city.

The letter was printed in The Star.

The next Tuesday, Judge S. and Dr. A. (of the Health Department) came to my school. It was a very wet afternoon and the children were there on the damp, so damp grass.

Dr. A. said, "Caroline, you have a good cheek to write like that to the White men!"

I said, "I haven't got a good cheek; it's their Christian duty to do something for these children. I must have a place for them."

He said it was still a fine cheek. But they gave me some money for my fund later!

Mrs. Huntley (we call her Malihutsane—Mother of Orphans) came and saw the children and said, "Caroline, our Race Relations Committee meets on Friday and I'm going to tell them about this."

A few days after, came Mrs. Huntley, smiling, and said, "Caroline, I've got a surprise for you; guess what it is."

I said, "I don't know, Mother Huntley, unless it's a basket of grapes, or clothes for my children." She said, "No, it's better than that. It's a cheque for £100."

So I gave that to Mr. Fox to keep.

With the letter in The Star money came in from many places, from an Indian store in Natal: even from the school at Mariannhill. The firm of Robor Ltd. gave £100.

In all these ways we raised about £400 and many toys too. But the money was still not enough to build a place big enough to hold the children; there were then over 100.

I went with Mrs. Huntley to see Mr. Keen at the Vocational Training School. I said, "Mr. Keen, your boys can build bricks and make doors. They are on holiday. You must be fair to me; I have not much money to pay them but they must come and build the school as soon as I have got all the bricks."

With the help of our friends Dr. A. of the Health Department and Mr. Y. of the NEAD, arrangements were made to build the school. So the bricks came and the boys built my nursery school. It stands on top of a rise, and has one big room which is a dining room and play room. There is a kitchen at one end for preparing the food and a very big verandah so that the children can continue to play out of doors when it is wet but not cold enough to take them inside.

So I started to stand on my own feet.

Then the City Council took over and sent food, qualified teachers, tables, chairs and equipment. This was on July 1, 1948. The first helpers were Mrs. Mary Jane Dhlamini, and Mrs. Sarah Mbelle.

The school now holds 150 children.

In 1948 we opened another branch at Moroka, which now holds 120. This is also run by the City Council. I work for them every day and on Sundays I have the Sunday school.

AT the crèche now we have to bath the children in a canvas bath in the open. That is all right in summer, but how can I keep them clean in the open in the cold dusty weather of winter? If I do not keep them clean, they will get ill.

I have started a fund to build them a bathroom. It was begun with £5 from a gentleman who came to see me from England.

We must get this bathroom.

When I was collecting money for my school, I once asked a white man, a traveller, for some of his samples of cloth so that I could make garments and sell them.

He said, "Ag! you natives are all alike; you are always wanting everything done for you!" I thought this was unkind when I was trying to do things to help my people. I did not ask him for clothes; I asked him for pieces to make clothes.

The White Men came and taught us of their God; they told us, "Do unto others as you would have them do unto you." Sometimes they show us the opposite. Why did that white man speak that way to me? He was a Christian.

Somehow we must get that bathroom.

Note: If any Peace News reader would like to contribute to Caroline's bathroom we will see that the money is forwarded.—Ed.



In Alexandra . . . crowded homes could no longer hold them

and of iron from wherever we can find it; we shall be so many that the police will not be able to stop us all; we will camp; we will build what shelter we can against the night cold and the winter wind; the City Fathers will be compelled to do something.

And so it came about.

In the night of dread the journey of heavy hearts was made.

In the morning the brown, rolling slopes of the winter veld, at a place where now in 1954 Dube township is rising, was covered with pitiful clumps of black people, and pitiful shacks. Their hardships cannot be told. Sacking, cardboard, old corrugated iron, flattened oil drums and rough bits of packing cases cannot keep out cold winds.

The camp was called Tobruk No. 2, after the Tobruk of the World War.

I said, "I cannot sleep between sheets in my house in Pimville, while my people are out there on the veld." So I went, to be with them.

By day the men went to the big city to their work; the mothers tried to make new homes; some of them went to work. Their children ran wild round the camp.

Michael Scott came, as I myself did, to be with them.

OUR leaders were right. The City Fathers had to know about us. They sent their people in the Social Welfare Department to have a look at us: then from the Non-European Affairs Department; then from the Health Department. Some of the City Fathers themselves came. They were so frightened of disease breaking out that they had to do something for us, just as our leaders had said.

We were moved to new places on the veld where now Moroka stands. Each family was given a plot 20ft. square in long rows, with water taps and latrines at the end of the rows. The rubbish had to be collected every week. So the danger of disease was removed. For this we pay 10s. a month.

At first the houses were shacks like those at Tobruk Camp. Gradually we built better houses of reeds, or of daub and wattle, or of

## So this was England

By JAMES BRISTOL

● James Bristol, Peace Education Secretary of the American Friends Service Committee (Quakers) was in England last autumn for a seven weeks speaking tour for the British Friends Peace Committee.

● After several weeks at home again in the USA and the opportunity of discussing his experiences with American friends and gaining a perspective, he now shares some of his reactions with the readers of Peace News.

● He found that most of his meetings in Britain were reminiscent of similar gatherings in the US in that those attending were almost entirely "the convinced." This seemed true to an even greater extent in England than in peace meetings in America, for although pacifists form a sizable portion of many US audiences there is usually a bigger representation of non-pacifist sentiment than he found in the meetings which he addressed in Britain.

● In some parts of the US, audiences are almost wholly non-pacifist. James Bristol believes this is due to the fact that American pacifists have greater access to the meetings of on-going organisations and to schools and colleges than was reflected in his English itinerary.

ONE of the strongest impressions that I brought back with me from England was that once we get outside of the small Quaker and pacifist circle, English people are very much like most Americans in their basic convictions and attitudes.

I found many of them to be essentially materialistic; granted they do not have all the gadgets that we have over here, but it is not because they do not want them.

As a people they think repeatedly, as do we, in terms of their own self-interest. Because of Britain's position in the world today such self-interest makes for a foreign policy certain aspects of which appeal to pacifists as being less provocative of war than many of the actions of the United States.

Obviously, such a situation is all to the good in applying the brakes to policies that might conceivably precipitate an atomic war. Care should be taken, however, lest we identify self-interest with principle, and the decisions dictated to a great extent by necessity with virtue.

### McCarthyism

Once outside the company of the convinced, I found that again and again English people believed in the superiority of the white man to the coloured; at a minimum they felt that we had to do what was best for these inferior members of the race. There was the same

essential reliance upon armament for defence and security that we find here, and the questions put to an American were basically similar to those that might have come from any average audience in the United States.

I found that the burning interest among Britishers was about the United States as a nation—about our behaviour both within our own country and in our contacts with the rest of the world. It seemed that every Englishman with whom I talked was aghast at what is now commonly known as "McCarthyism."

The more I discussed this matter with English citizens, however, the clearer it became that, though completely justified in this attitude, most audiences with whom I met were in error at two points.

On the one hand, they thought the suppression of freedom in the United States to be worse than it really is. In striking contrast to so much reported in the daily press, there is "another America" that insists upon speaking forthrightly, courageously and often very critically about all the important issues of the day.

On the other hand, many Englishmen do not appear to realise how serious the present situation actually is in America. They are too good to us, in feeling that McCarthyism is the instigator of all the present hysteria and difficulty, when in reality there are also other forces and interests that move very definitely in the same direction, supplementing and augmenting all that McCarthy does.

### Communism

The attitude toward Communism is certainly much sounder and healthier in England than in the United States.

Here Communism today is looked upon as a sort of leprosy. It apparently operates in only one direction, which means that any contact with Communism is per se going to contaminate the non-Communist.

Since returning to my own country, I have already, in a very liberal organisation, run across an instance in which a person has refused recently to reply to a letter from a "front organisation," feeling that some "trick" may be involved even in securing a negative answer to the request made.

I fully realise how incredible this is to most Englishmen.

Your calm and objective acceptance of Communism as an idea that should be dealt with as we deal with any other idea is so thoroughly wholesome and is the sort of British soundness that I am striving to share repeatedly with my own countrymen.

One result of my experience in England that

\* NEXT PAGE



# Peacebuilders

From page four

peace movement, and in Copenhagen can be shown experiments in youth work and social service.

Germany has the largest number of Open-Doors in Europe—136. Here again are a host of individuals eager to make personal contacts—a judge, writers, pastors, factory workers, farmers, students. A Quaker neighbourhood centre and a Folk High School are on the list, and so also is the famous Freundschaftsheim, yet another international study-centre placing emphasis on the balance between study and manual work.

The Freundschaftsheim was founded by Pastor Wilhelm Mensching of the German Fellowship of Reconciliation, and was partly built by the voluntary labour of work-campers.

The study-centres mentioned prefer that people stay for the full course, but have generously offered to take our travellers for short visits. We hope that such short visits will often lead to the taking of full courses.

In the British Isles it is possible to be the guest of the organising secretary of a settlement in London's East End, of a "problem family" caseworker, a miner, a Welsh hill farmer, a world-famous composer, and over 100 others.

Two of the most interesting of the 16 Open-Doors in Holland are those of the director of a famous community centre and a couple who live in a houseboat on an Amsterdam canal.

In Austria, Switzerland and France there are few at present, but we hope to have more in the near future, especially for those who wish to study the French Communities of Work. Two of these are already on our list, one being also a work centre for the Friends Ambulance Unit International Service.

## In the Near East

A journey in these countries or in Italy needs to be supplemented by the use of youth hostels, but would be worthwhile and certainly full of interest. You might, like one of our travellers, spend one night in a comfortable hotel and the next find yourself sharing a haystove with a flock of chickens (not an Open-Door, but due to a hospitable stranger taking pity on a stranded traveller!). You might stay with a High Court barrister in Cairo, at a Friends School near Beirut, or visit a cocoa-buyer in Accra, for all these scattered places have Open-Doors.

In India a large number of people active in the Gandhian movement are on our list, and it is possible to stay at one or other of several ashrams and to work on a self-supporting basis for as long as a year.

North America has hundreds of hosts in every US state and most provinces of Canada. Co-operative communities welcome travellers

## New peace venture

"THE MOUNT," Haverhill, Suffolk, was established in 1953 by the Fellowship of Reconciliation as a Conference and Holiday centre. It is a place to which visitors from Britain and from overseas may come and find friendship. It is equipped so that groups and organisations can hold conferences.

Already it is becoming known and during that part of 1953 when it was available it was visited by Youth groups, Church organisations, Trade Unions, Political groups and various cultural bodies.

"The Mount" accommodates 45 people and there are rooms for conference and social activities. Special features are the spacious lawns and beautiful gardens and these have proved ideally suitable for out-of-door discussions, drama and dancing.

Not only are the immediate surroundings conducive to the things of peace but the many places of historic and topical interest within easy reach of Haverhill add to its attraction.

It is the hope of the Directors that "The Mount" will increasingly become a well used centre serving a wide variety of people.

for month-long stays, and experimental schools, settlement houses, rural reconstruction centres and student co-operative houses offer unique insight into the enlightened side of American life.

Besides these are hosts in every large city and hundreds of rural communities—leaders in co-operative, youth and peace movements, leaders of many religions, farmers, workers and professional people.

Work is an important aspect of this travel scheme, for working together brings greater understanding. Every traveller has an unwritten obligation to do his share. The worker with a few precious days snatched from office or farm will still make his bed and help with household duties, the student or the more leisurely traveller will be able to lend a hand in the garden or on the farm or take part in a work-camp.

Faced with such a variety of possibilities, it is reassuring to know that when you receive a list of Open-Doors in any of these countries, you will find a brief description of the interests and activities of your hosts. Some plan their travels by listing places where there are interesting experiments to be seen, others by people they would like to meet—we welcome anyone who, interested in social and international problems, feels that the Work-Study Travel System would increase his understanding and help him make a contribution to a more peaceful society.

ESMA BURROUGH.

# Letters to the Editor

January 29, 1954, PEACE NEWS—7

## Atomic energy for peace

IN the press and elsewhere more and more is being said about the possibilities of the peaceful uses of atomic energy. While welcoming this trend as a hopeful sign it is as well to look a little further into the facts.

A recent article in the industrial journal "Cheap Steam" based on a paper delivered in the USA points out that at present power from nuclear sources can be produced at competitive prices only if part of the cost is borne by the sale of plutonium to the US Government for military purposes. Plutonium is a by-product of the process of atomic energy production where the uranium atom U238 is used as the fuel.

The world's first atomic power plant now being built at Sellafield on the Cumberland coast will generate electricity from uranium and produce the explosive plutonium as a by-product.

As priority in this and many countries is given to armament production it is legitimate to ask whether the decision to build Sellafield was not based primarily on the demands of the armaments industry for fissionable material vital for atomic weapons, rather than on the need for an extension of electric generating power for peaceful purposes.

R. RAWLINSON.

67 Hollam Road, Southsea, Hants.

## Community living

IT was with interest that I read Harold Hansen's letter (Community Living, PN December 25).

Believing that world disorder is mainly pathological, psychically and physically, I do not believe that the solution lies in political and economic re-arrangement. The treatment of psychological disturbance has shown that the earliest years are the ones in which most damage is done.

The belief that a peaceful and happy society will be the sum total of the degree in which the individual is balanced, rational and happy had led a group of us to investigate the possibility of a community taking account of the latest knowledge of human personality and adding to this the physical basis of a high level of health.

The result is that we hope to found in 1954 a community where as far as knowledge permits children will be free to develop into their rational personalities.

ALAN ALBON.

Daisygreen, Groton, Nr. Boxford, Colchester.

## Payment of taxes

I AM most interested in Fyke Farmer's (US lawyer) campaign against illegal collection of taxes for war purposes, and his suggestion that US Congress should allow taxpayers to support the Government in the civil, peaceful and lawful functions authorised by the Con-

stitution without contributing to illegal and unconstitutional wars.

Absolute conscientious objectors like myself, who feel very strongly that payment of taxes for such purposes is wrong, should insist on this, i.e. should insist that their payment be put for the development of under developed countries, increased old age pensions, etc., and that the question be raised in Parliament at the first opportunity. There are plenty of opportunities—for instance debates on the budget, so-called "defence," Africa, Suez and Canal Zone.

ENID ANSELL.

Cambridge.

## Christian Science and war

IN an editorial from The Christian Science Monitor, dated December 4, 1953 we read:

"If a whole people, with a clear realisation of all risks and implications of its position, ever decides to rely on moral power alone for its protection, that will indeed mark a revolution in world thinking."

But what is the Church of which this periodical is an organ doing towards bringing about this most urgently needed revolution? During the last war it publicly disowned its more clear-sighted members who conscientiously objected to taking part in the mass homicide of war, and published a pamphlet declaring that there was nothing in the tenets of the Christian Science Church to warrant this conscientious objection and yet the last Tenet of this Church reads:

"And we solemnly promise to watch and pray for that Mind to be in us which was also in Christ Jesus; to do unto others as we would have them do unto us; and to be merciful, just, and pure."

How can this statement possibly be equated with upholding the policy of roasting human beings alive by means of napalm and atomic bombs?

ESME WYNNE-TYSON.

Clarwyn, East Beach, Selsey.

## Federal Union

JOHN NIBB's main point is true (PN January 8). Federation will put an end to war between the members of the federation, but will not prevent war from breaking out between the federated states and those outside.

On the contrary it may make war more likely and especially is this true if the federation consists of friendly states who are already military allies.

This applies very much to Federal Union's present policy.

W. G. WATSON.

The Bungalow, Harrowby Hall Estate, Grantham.

## More confessions

THE writer of "Behind the News," in "More Confessions" (PN January 1, 1954) indulges himself in some gratuitous, unsubstantiated speculations about what may or may not be happening in Russia.

For what possible good purpose? We have learned to expect such mischievous, war-mongering anti-Communism in hysterical USA, but it comes as something of a shock to find such harmful conjectures in, of all places, a peace publication in sane Britain.

A. BRUCE COX.

3221, Piedmont Avenue, Pittsburgh 16, Pa., USA.

(Our correspondent should re-read "More Confessions." The note does not contain speculations or conjectures, unsubstantiated or otherwise. It refers to a number of facts.—Ed.)

## SO THIS WAS ENGLAND

surprised me greatly was that I developed a great deal more sympathy for my own countrymen and for the problems with which they are grappling than I had ever had before.

I felt at times that there was a tendency in England to make the United States the whipping boy for many of the shortcomings and failures of which England herself is guilty, though perhaps to a lesser degree than we are, very much as we in the United States are prone to make South Africa the whipping boy for our own unsolved race problem.

As I discussed these matters with English audiences and kept hearing their quite valid criticisms of the United States, I became increasingly convinced that what is happening in and to America today is not unique in the

experience of great nations.

We are treading essentially the same path down which most other great nations have gone (usually to their destruction).

The repercussions of what we do are perhaps more serious than has been true at times in the past because of our tremendous political and economic power, but the pattern that we are following is a familiar one.

As I viewed America from abroad, I was paradoxically both aghast at how vicious and ruthless in our dealings with others and how suppressive of freedom we appear to be, and at the same time increasingly sympathetic of the complexity of problems that we face.

We are caught in the toils of our own enormous power and prosperity.

## \* From page six

My observations in England confirmed for me the conviction that we must go very deep and that there must be really revolutionary change if we are to meet realistically the chaos and confusion of the world today.

To me it became a bit clearer than ever before that we must do nothing less than challenge the basic no-God materialism of our day; we must live out our trust in God all the way, even when the chips are really down, even when Hitler, or the Communists, or McCarthy are abroad and are a genuine threat to all that is most precious to us.

Love, peace, joy, brotherhood, justice, decency, mercy, forgiveness—these words must become flesh and blood in our lives and dwell among men. Nothing less than this can meet the crisis of our time.

# ★ DIARY ★

As this is a free service, we reserve the right to select for publication notices sent in. We nevertheless desire to make it as complete a service as we reasonably can, and therefore urge organisers of events to:

1. Send notices to arrive not later than Monday morning.

2. Include: Date, TOWN, Time, Place (hall, street); nature of event; speakers, organisers (and secretary's address)—preferably in that order and style.

ABBREVIATIONS: Anglican Pacifist Fellowship, APF; Fellowship of Reconciliation, For; Methodist Peace Fellowship, MPF; National Peace Council, NPC; Peace with China Council, PWC; Peace Pledge Union, PPU; Society of Friends, SoF.

### Friday, January 29

DERBY: 7.30 p.m.; Temperance Ho., 110 Osmaston Rd. Inaugural meeting. "Derby Crusade for Peace." Speaker, Sybil Morrison. Great works to be done in Derby for Peace. Please give your support. PPU.

NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE: 7.30 p.m.; Brunswick Hall, off Northland St. "Brains Trust on Kenya." Joseph Murumbi, E. Short, MP, and a Conservative. Tyneside Africa Council.

### Saturday, January 30

ELTHAM: 7.30 p.m.; Room 1, Progress Hall, Admiral Seymour Rd. Discussion, PPU. LEEDS: 3 p.m.; Riley-Smith Hall, Students' Hall, University of Leeds. "War on Want." Prof. W. Arthur Lewis and UNESCO film. "World without end." War on Want (West Riding).

LEYTONSTONE: 7 p.m.; Friends' Mtg. Ho., Bush Rd. Film show: "Children on Trial" and supporting programme. Refreshments. Admission free. PPU.

### Monday, February 1

LONDON, N.W.7: 8 p.m.; Public meeting. Mill Hill Methodist Church, Goodwyn Ave. Speaker, Hugh Faulkner. For.

### Tuesday, February 2

LONDON, N.2: 8 p.m.; 15 Lynmouth Rd. Tom Wardle. "The Politics of Peace." PPU. MANCHESTER: 1-2 p.m.; Deansgate Blitz Site. Christian pacifist open-air meeting. Local Methodist ministers and others. MPF.

### Wednesday, February 3

HARROW: 8 p.m.; Little Arden Cottage, South Hill Ave. (nr. South Harrow Stn.). Stuart Morris. "My American Tour." Crusade for World Government.

### Thursday, February 4

BOURNEMOUTH: 7.30 p.m.; Friends' Mtg. Ho., Avenue Rd. Public meeting. "The Challenge of Africa to the Christian Conscience." Speaker, Miss Mary Benson (Secretary, Africa Bureau). For.

LEEDS: 1 p.m.; Leeds University Peace Society. Stuart Morris. "Some Aspects of Pacifism."

LEYTONSTONE: 8 p.m.; Friends' Mtg. Ho., Bush Rd. Else Pracy, BSc (Econ). "Problems of Education." PPU.

LONDON, W.C.1: 1.15-1.45 p.m.; Church of St. George the Martyr, Queen Sq. Weekly lunch-hour Service of Intercession for World Peace. Conducted by clergy and laymen of different denominations.

LONDON, W.C.2: 12.30 p.m.; Lincoln's Inn Fields. Open-air meeting. Sybil Morrison and Robert Horniman. PPU.

OXFORD: 7.30 p.m.; 42 Ramsay Rd., Headington. "Challenge of the Hour." PPU.

### Friday, February 5

BIRMINGHAM: 7 p.m.; Friends' Mtg. Ho., Bull St. Rt. Hon. Harold Wilson, MP. "The Great Delusion." Birmingham Peace Council.

HULL: 8 p.m.; 6 Bond St. Speaker, Mr. L.A. Bird. All welcome. Questions invited. PPU.

LONDON, W.C.1: 7.30 p.m.; Dick Sheppard Ho., 6 Endsleigh St. Discussion of pamphlet, "Waging Peace," led by Nancy J. Edmonds. PPU.

IPSWICH: 7.30 p.m.; Friends' Mtg. Ho., Fonnereau Rd. Group Discussion. PPU.

### Saturday, February 6

UXBRIDGE: 7.30 p.m.; Friends' Mtg. Ho., Belmont Rd. "Why won't they fire?" Uxbridge CO Fellowship.

### Sunday, February 7

LONDON, W.11: 3.30 p.m.; Studio, 29 Addison Ave. (nr. Holland Pk. Stn.) N. J. Teape. "Escapist or Creative Religion?" Religion Commission PPU.

### Monday, February 8

SHAFESBURY: 7.30 p.m.; Public Meeting. Friends' Mtg. Ho., Gold Hill, John Hoyland. "Work for Peace." For.

SHEFFIELD: 7.30 p.m.; Church Ho., St. James St. Removing the Causes of War. Mr. Tom Pickles. "Poverty in Asia." PPU.

### Tuesday, February 9

BATTERSEA: 8 p.m.; St. Barnabas Church, Clapham Common. Stuart Morris. "Ellis Island and Beyond." PPU.

### Saturday, February 13

GLASGOW: 3 p.m.; Community House, 214 Clyde St. C.1. Annual General Meeting of Church of Scotland Peace Society and Fellowship of Reconciliation (Glasgow branches).

## CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS

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# A new German Army or a Ten Year Peace Plan?

## HOW WE CAN REACH A SETTLEMENT WITH RUSSIA

AT the first meeting of the Big Four Mr. Molotov made it quite clear that Russia would insist on the withdrawal of all plans for the rearmament of Germany as a preliminary condition of a European settlement.

The Russian point of view is, of course, familiar. The fear that haunts the Russian mind is that a rearmament of Germany would again be a danger to Russia which in the last war suffered enormous casualties and three years under German invasion and occupation.

### The greatest threat

If a new German army is established then Russia has to prepare against this again. As the Russians see it a rearmament of Germany is the greatest threat to the peace of Europe and must be opposed at all costs, especially when it may have the backing of the American Air Force with its atom bombs and artillery which menace the USSR from an ever growing number of bases which encircle Russia and from which the Americans could destroy her industrial centres.

No one can dismiss the Russian fears as groundless.

On the other hand Russia has an immense military force herself which, runs the argument of the West, could over-run and dominate Europe. Just as the West has its forces in West Germany, so has Russia in the East; if the West gives up its military forces then the Russians march in.

If both sides hold to their point of view then the Conference ends in deadlock.

### Rousing old fears

But how would a rearmament of Germany in any way ease the situation? All the fears of the countries that were invaded before, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Roumania, Hungary, would be roused again and the result would be that they would increase their armies to prepare against the new German menace. But why not a neutral Germany from which all the armed forces could be withdrawn?

Is Russia prepared to agree to this? There is every indication that she is. Russia would get far more from a neutral Germany in the way of trade than she would from an occupied Germany which must be perpetually held down.

Germany could help to supply the equipment, the machinery, which the USSR so badly needs for the development of her internal economy.

Russia does not need to have her armies in Germany in order to get trade agreements, and she does not need new territory. The USSR and China have vast under-developed regions and the Russians do not need more land in Europe.

### Programme of reconstruction

Why should not Mr. Eden take the lead in talking to the Russians in terms of the economic future of Europe and submit to them plans for the rebuilding of Europe in which the Russians could participate and co-operate? There is an interesting proposal contained in the German Social Democrats' statement on the Conference.

It reads:

"Current developments would in any case appear to impress on the Western Powers the need for renewed consultations with the Soviet Government on economic co-operation between all European countries."

"The West might, for instance, raise the question whether the Soviet Union would be prepared now to participate in an up-to-date programme of European reconstruction with regard to which it rejected the United States offer in 1947. An expanded Organisation for European Economic Co-operation might be envisaged although this specific structure need not present the only possibility."

"Procedure along such lines would provide an opportunity to consider the peaceful use and exploitation of German productive capacity and the participation of a reunited Germany in a common European

★ Emrys Hughes left London on Tuesday for Berlin, where he will be addressing a gathering of War Resisters.

## WORLD PACIFISTS FOR FOR SUMMER CONFERENCE

THE Annual Summer Conference of the Fellowship of Reconciliation will be held at Darley Dale, near Matlock, from July 31 to August 7.

As the International Council Meeting of the International FoR is being held in Great Britain towards the end of July there will be many people from different countries of the world participating in this year's FoR Conference.

The Chairman will be John Ferguson, M.A., and the speakers will include the Rev. Dr. R. Tudor Jones, B.A., B.D. of Bala-Bangor College, Wales; the Rev. Dr. J. de Graaf of Holland; Denis Hayes, L.B.; the Rev. Alan Knott, B.Sc., who has recently returned from South Africa, and Elisabeth Monastier of Switzerland.

Brochures giving full particulars are available from the Fellowship of Reconciliation, 29 Great James Street, London, W.C.1.

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effort. In the process certain fears regarding the use of German productive capacity for the armament of one side might be eliminated."

Now this is an excellent suggestion which I think the Russians would be prepared to look at.

### Lesson of Korea

Much has happened since 1947. What has happened in Korea has taught the Russians, as well as everybody else capable of learning, that modern war can only be an enormous destructive stalemate.

The last thing the Russians want is war, especially in Europe. I do not think there will be any reckless military adventures from the Russian side.

But Russia should have learned too that she has more to lose than gain in the economic sense by being un-co-operative towards the West and remaining isolated from Western Europe and America.

All recent trends in Russian internal policy show that they are now prepared to trade on a big scale and to do deals with the industrial West.

So I do not think if the West made approaches on the lines advocated in the German Socialist statement that they would be rejected by the Russians. On the contrary, the Russians would be likely to welcome them because they fit in with the whole trend of the fifth "Five Year Plan."

If we substituted for EDC proposals for a Ten Year European Peace Plan I believe we could both get a united Germany, neutral and disarmed, and an agreement with the Russians.

But we will never reach it by insisting on the rearmament of Germany and surrounding Russia with bases to be used to destroy her in the event of an atomic war.

# Perilous Propaganda

We cannot exclude the possibility that the Soviet Government might be willing to offer free supervised elections in East Germany at a price... such as the withdrawal of American troops and/or the abandonment, already demanded, of "foreign military bases" elsewhere... It is not always appreciated that the American military bases have more than a potential military value. They represent the first attempt to be prepared for a possible next war instead of for the last war, and have the twofold moral effect of reassuring Western Europe, and deterring potential aggressors...

—Sir David Kelly, Sunday Times, January 24, 1954.

PERHAPS there has never been such successful propaganda, even by the arch-propagandist, Goebbels, as that which has achieved the deeply rooted belief that Britain's lack of preparedness for war has provoked those with aggressive intentions to make war.

The opposite is the truth about the first world war. It could not possibly be proved that Britain's Navy was in a state of unpreparedness during the ten years before 1914, nor that British statesmen were such complete blockheads that they did not know that in 1909 Germany was replying to the great new British Dreadnoughts by the building of battleships.

The new British battleships were well-named, denoting in fact that Britain was prepared, and had nothing to fear, believing, just as she does today, that preparation for war is a deterrent, whereas the truth is that it can just as easily, possibly more easily, be a provocation.

In those days Britain's unconquered Navy dominated the seas and defended her acquisitions the world over. There was scarcely any part of the globe where British armed forces were not quartered, and few countries have so huge a record of wars fought upon the territories of other peoples.

This is not intended as an anti-British indictment but is a statement of a fact that is continually and persistently overlooked, if not deliberately suppressed, simply because, in itself, it refutes the argument that in 1914 we were unprepared.

We were, in fact, doing for different reasons very much the same thing as we are doing today, building up armaments in the belief that they will act as a deterrent. The race in armaments which ensued upon this policy led eventually to the first world war.

It may well be true that we were not prepared for an all out "total" war in 1939, but that does not mean we were not arming; on the contrary there is no doubt that we were

assisting to arm Germany as well. Our foreign policy at that time seemed to encourage the rise of Hitler to power, and to be based upon the belief that Hitler and his Nazis might well stand between this country and Communist Russia.

There would seem some reason, therefore, for Russia to view the apparent repetition of this pattern with misgiving, and to object strongly to the occupation by the American Air Force of air bases both in this country and in France.

That Britain does not also object is largely due to this terrifying faith in war preparation as a protection rather than a menace. It remains a fact, that because of the incessant propaganda of this nature, people are apparently reassured by the knowledge that air bases are established here equipped with atomic weapons, ready for the next war, and believe them to be a deterrent against Russia starting another war.

The argument that Russia will be afraid to start a war is a most dangerous one, since great fear does not necessarily result in acquiescence, but on the contrary may result in a grim determination to strike the first blow.

If that were to occur the American air bases would, naturally, be the first target, and the alleged deterrent, so far as this country is concerned, would be a Britain in ruins, with a population dead, dying and diseased.

The "moral effect" of removing those bases, and agreeing that because disarmament is an essential to peace, the rearming of Germany should be abandoned, would also be "two-fold"; it would be a proof of goodwill instead of hostility, and it would be preparation for peace instead of for war. If the world is to be saved the disaster of an atomic war, it must begin not to prepare for war, but for peace.

### ACKNOWLEDGMENT

The photographs of South Africa are reproduced on page six by courtesy of Picture Post Library.

# Labour MPs and the conscription issue

AT the last Labour Party Conference over 160 delegates signed the No Conscription Council Petition against conscription. Sixteen local Labour Parties tabled resolutions on the same theme.

During the Conference, time could only be found for three resolutions not directly associated with the two Executive Reports "Challenge to Britain" and "Resolutions on Foreign and Commonwealth Policy." No time was found to discuss conscription.

Its place was taken by a (most worthy) resolution deploring night-baking. This was moved by the Bakers' Trade Union, and was accepted by the Executive and Conference. I couldn't help reflecting that it was a great pity that the young conscripts hadn't had the foresight to organise themselves and affiliate to the Party!

This is not cynicism: the Labour Party was only minding its own business—or, perhaps more truly—minding the business of its own.

Far too frequently one discovers that the mainsprings of political action are bedded in self-interest. Lofty idealism helps in a peroration, but it doesn't seem to matter overmuch in day-to-day political activity. The problems of, and the pressures exerted on, leadership are so many that they tend to obscure ultimate objectives. Yet the instincts of the rank and file Party members are so often true.

### The Official Voice

Take the Conscription issue. At meetings of Ward Labour Parties and Women's Co-operative Guilds, I have been impressed again and again by the fact that the rank and file membership are substantially sound on this question.

Opposition, when it comes, is invariably from a principal officer or a local Labour Councillor. And this always affects the atmosphere of the meeting.

When I am just preening myself on having made our case and won the meeting, the Official Voice is heard—and some, but not all, of those who had indicated their agreement with us, go into retreat.

You see it is much the same as in the House of Commons. One simply must support one's leaders—even if they appear to be talking out of their hats!

Back in 1931 I had a friend who, since 1929, had been a Labour Member of Parliament. A good-hearted, kindly chap, who shared my own socialist and humanitarian beliefs. Yet, in the spring of that year, he found himself committed, day after day, to trooping in and out of lobbies in support of the Macdonald-Snowden-Thomas clique who, by their weakness and lack of faith, were soon to destroy Labour as the strongest political party, for 14 years.

Fourteen bad, bad years, which included the worst industrial depression and the most terrible war we have ever known.

The signs were plain to see on that Spring day when I tackled "Robert Mason, MP" (let's call him that; it isn't his real name, of

course) over a cup of tea in the House.

The poor chap was clearly troubled. He felt in agreement with me in all my criticisms, but—and what a "but" it was!—there was in his mind another factor which did not affect me.

I remember so well the pain in his face and voice as he said to me over the tea-table:

"But what you are asking is that I should attack my own leaders. If a sufficient number of us do that, it will mean the fall of the Labour Government and the Tories will be back. However bad things are now, be sure that, for the working class, they will be a damned sight worse under that crowd. This place is organised on a two-party basis. Membership, as a Party MP, involves loyalty to one's leaders. The System just can't work without it."

I didn't agree with him, but I was too young and inexperienced to find the right answers.

### By L. J. CUMING

The writer, who is here expressing a personal point of view, is secretary of the No Conscription Council and a member of the Peace Pledge Union's Campaign Committee. He has served in the armed forces as a Regimental Sergeant-Major.

The rest of the story is history. Labour fell, anyhow, and the Tories climbed back into power. And it wasn't rank and file revolt that brought down the second Labour Government.

Bob and I met once or twice afterwards, but my next firm recollection is of a brief conversation with him in the outer lobby of the House on November 17, 1953. He had been back as Member for his old constituency since 1945.

I was there as General Secretary of the No Conscription Council, canvassing members on the Conscription issue due to be debated that evening.

Bob's heart was still sound; he was an anti-conscriptionist as I well knew. Only that morning I had received a letter from him assuring me of the fact.

When I mentioned that a few Labour MPs would, for varied reasons, divide the House on the Order in Council re-imposing conscription for five years, he answered, bless him:

"Well, of course, you know how I feel about this question. The difficulty is that we've been told to abstain from voting either way. After all, this place is organised on a two-party basis, and it's awfully difficult to go against one's own leaders."

I almost murmured: "Ah well, good night, this is where I came in."

To the pacifist-minded, such moral acrobatics are incomprehensible. We meet them all the time, and never fail—at least I never fail—to be completely bowled over, baffled and bewildered by the reasoning processes of the offenders.

Conscription is a political act. It can only be ended by another political act. True it is that hearts and minds of many people must be changed first, but when that has been done, it will still be for Parliament to end conscription. It is equally true, of course, that the Armed Forces and the whole paraphernalia of war-making are also susceptible of change or abolition only through political action in the last resort.

The history of all progressive movements in the past century, the growth of democracy, the rise of Labour, the Gandhi-Congress movement in India, liberation movements in Colonial territories, all have been characterised by political activity at their very early stages.

By political activity is meant the specific act of seeking the support of the people at elections. There is no other way.

To change people, the objective of Quakers and others, is an essential pre-condition of course. But at some point it becomes necessary to afford those people the opportunity of demonstrating their faith before their fellows in a manner most likely to attract adherents and further the common cause.

In our present position we have tended to pin our hopes to a broad evangelism coupled, in political terms, with the activities of the small group of pacifist and anti-conscription MPs, who all happen to be members of the Labour Party.

Hopes have been pinned to a gradual conversion of the Labour Party—and eventually a Labour Government—to a standpoint acceptable to pacifists. But are those hopes any longer reasonable?

### What holds them?

Can our friends in Parliament consistently and effectively rebel, not only against wrong policies, but against the "Fuehrer-Prinzip" which, as I have shown, is so strong in Labour circles? Can they do this in the absence of any evidence of support for their point of view among the electors?

Recently a number of anti-conscriptionists have been so troubled by this problem, that an idea to sponsor an independent candidate at a critical by-election was seriously considered. It was fully realised that any votes obtained would be at the expense of the official Labour man.

Herbert Morrison will be glad to know that, in this discussion, those who were members of local Labour Parties were united in opposition to the proposal—even though they were, in some cases, ardent pacifists with fine records of service to the cause of Peace.

What is it that holds such men and women in loyalty to a Party committed to armaments, conscription, and—in the last analysis—war? On this question I am a seeker after information: perhaps some kind readers will help.

Insofar as these friends believe that there is a good chance of converting the Party to the war-resisting mood of its founders, I wish them good luck and God's blessing on their efforts. I wish I could share their optimism.